

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [560] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 121 ●

127 material, I have depended on published works to supplement my own findings. These sources are acknowledged throughout the work.

128 The organization of the study follows the main topics which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter is a discussion of the geography of the island, including climate, soils, physiography, and regional differences that exist. This is included for the specific purpose of indicating limiting factors in agriculture and land use, and to make clear that the geographical relationships with continental Asia and Japan have varied throughout history and with the changes in international relations. The voyages following the Age of Discovery, the events leading up to the opening of Japan, the Japanese wars with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05), the events following World War I, World War II, and the unexpected emergence of Korea as a major post-war battleground have produced their reverberations in the Ryukyus, especially in Okinawa. We are dealing with an old culture, long settled in the area, and, as a consequence, with modifications and changes of the natural environment dating back millennia. Okinawa has developed by an intensive and widespread conversion of the forests, the soils, the plants, and the small rivers to human use.

[129] In the historical chapter, this idea of a culture modifying the natural environment over centuries is supplemented by a discussion of the intrusive influences which have been brought to bear on its history. These influences range from the introduction of the family system and of the sweet potato to the American Coco Cola. The cultural history is a product of these influences from continental Asia, Japan, and the United States in addition to the changes coming to an environment in which people live close to the land and have sometimes carefully, sometimes carelessly modified it to suit their needs and tastes.

Within the framework provided by the geographical and historical chapters, the main body of the report begins with a discussion of the types of villages found in Okinawa, a description of each of the villages studied, the physical and historical differences that seem to distinguish them. Following this, there is a discussion of village populations, the effects of settlement, pre-war emigration and post-war displacement and repatriation. The last chapter of this part is concerned with housing. This could have been considered elsewhere, but housing is really a more detailed study of the elements of which a village is composed. Housebuilding and construction are, except for the primary occupations, the most common of all village activities. It seemed logical to follow the technical discussion of housing with the ceremonies of housebuilding, though this too could have been placed elsewhere in the work.

The third part begins with an exposition of social organization as embodied in the family system, a discussion of the small and the extended family, devices such as adoption, and the significance of the household order, or secondary family naming system. The discussion is then shifted to the nature and the effectiveness of inheritance and the manner in which inheritance actually works out in an area of fragmented land holdings.

[Pp. i-Vii not processed]

Introduction

121 This volume is the first of a series of publications reporting research undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. It was designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child receives in the first years of life determines his behavior and in adult life influences his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethics.

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. This project was set up with the hope of being able to test some of these hypotheses on the basis of material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children.

121 In tracing the history of this project one should begin with the work
 • 127 of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, John Dollard, and other pioneers in the field of culture and personality whose work formed the foundation of this study. Such an account, which would demand an essay on the entire new discipline that grew out of the integration of anthropological and psychological theory, is not practical in this introduction.

121 Specifically, the impetus for this study came from the cross-cultural
 114 work on socialization done by two of the senior investigators, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, while they were colleagues at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The results of this research were published in *Child Training and Personality* (1953). Using

2 Introduction

12 theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

• [127] The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

121 In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar* and a conference† to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

121 Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hil-dreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 161
4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of
arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is
going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements
responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report.

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part 433
time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly 241
noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons'
are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.¹ The [262]
inland 'son' of Baeraru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgō, a wax melon that is a
favorite Okinawan food.

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south
of the Naha-Mavashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for
the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in
the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost
one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and
ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa,
in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies
a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north
shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf
tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and [231]
ducks. It also produces 75% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. [235]
This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer.

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to
the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The
offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar
cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat.
Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41%
of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th [252]
in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso',
in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home
industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of
the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third
(34.4%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland
Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum).

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the [231]
mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank
in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's
sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not
outstanding in numbers of bullocks.

¹ Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and
Okinawa guntō no tenbō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [27]

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mavashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

632
16 Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Benza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

• [27] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

121
16
[428]
[178]
[177] Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planning for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates